Fall of 1861.

Dear Mr Lamson,

Will you kindly send me by next mail a copy of your form of Memorial? — I am in the greatest need of it. In fact we are late in "preparatory movements. It does not in the least matter for practical purposes, that it has not been formally adopted: — I only want to say, — to England — the West — to every body, — as I did with the form I showed you — "help us roll up a Mammoth Memorial, in something like this shape." & now if I can have a copy of yours I can say, "Mr Lamson has shaped it for us, & the shape will doubtless be about like this."

That will answer just as well for this stage of affairs, as if it had been made a Society operation already,

as

it doubtless will be.

But perhaps we may on consideration, think it well to have a Society Memorial & a popular one to the same effect, which we can hitch to our tug-boat? — I "heave it out," as the farmers say in town meeting — "for consideration."

While the war against the Slave-power is going on, we all, (the Am. Soc. I mean) surrounded by & commingled with a friendly people. It is a people united to Southern Slavery that we are divided from in Spirit, not a people repelling its aggressions, & feeling blindly for a way to cast it out. Moreover, I trust the Liberator has opened the eyes of the friends of the cause finally, so that they will see their way clear & their colour clear, & not shoot a man in grey because the enemy's uniform

is gray too. The thing has got past the mere technicalities of Statutes. The law is now virtually under Martial Law, & under since last January; & it is now the only law we can ask any thing under. Habeas Corpus, & all manner of Civil process are nothing but a hindrance, — freedom of speech not possible; — to carry on successful war. All ~~but~~ can say, ~~It is not free speech, but admitted~~ Treason helps the Government now. I cannot finish in Republican Government. — i.e. Self-Government in the last analysis. I am confident we shall, as a people, come out of this convulsion cured by the poison in the body politic, with safety, the poison once ejected. — It takes more than one generation to fix a standing army upon a people. The danger is in the previous state of slavery, which acted so long as a disorder. But I am amazed to learn how strong the constitution of the patient is. Even

in the midst of the Democratic party (with whom I am conversant,) there is, at bottom a stronger sympathy for Union than for Slavery, & they two will come into a movement to remove any thing out of the way, even though (at last they must) throw overboard Slavery itself. When we work as reformers, we come to a place where, if we have success, we shall find the Reformer's & the Statesman's work the same. The mistakes of some of us have a little delayed this moment for their time & clime, but only a little. The hour has come. The doctrine of human brotherhood should & might now find a popular expression through our Administration; for we are not building up a Christian Government in the American Anti-Slavery Society. We are only shaping the Society's policy from time to time

as its obstacles change their shape.

We have got for the moment the dissension which permits us for the moment to unite. It is a pity the whole world was not one great nation. The nearer we approach to that, the happier & better is the human race. The passport system, the Zoll-verein, fortresses & frontier defences, absorb all the means of instruction from a people. So I cannot feel in the slightest sympathy with our dear Wendell, when he says he does not care for any of the States, & has no country all involved in in time & eat known, & cannot unite with the people in desiring to an undivided nationality hastened by the abolition of slavery. As bone of the bone & flesh of the flesh of the people, - the common people, - of

have changed it, or so cannot treat it as we do a dog, we were obliged to feed it with food becoming man, it should have a different region this & every other land, I cannot but see that for any dissolvent of sin to go on till it makes of a nation, twelve tribes, - & of these generations of Johnnalites, is not a process of civilization, but the contrary. We have, by refusing to concentrate upon Barbarism drawn into it more energy of the National heart to demand of us the Hon. A. S. Lee. - Not to disband, but to change its policy: ± - not lose its identity in the Mob it has moved into line with its fate this day, but to let them know what its policy is: - Distinct from slavery, from freedom. J.D. a non-resistant a disunionist from the Constitution of the United States - the most unpatriotic possible individual, - a woman, & with a real home in every land under heaven, do yet

± I need not say that the change is our in it; but in the nation. We

When it was a prince turned by evil spells into
ument for it. Now that it is, by counter-spells
timen.

feel, while I am sure, in
the United States, that my earthly
all is involved in the preservation
of undivided National Existence
by the expulsion of Slavery, — by
the substitution of Freedom, Why
should I not implore the whole mass
of the people, whose earthly all
is also involved, to express the same
feeling? — The only objection to Sla-
very is, that it has not a single con-
stituent for building up a Nationality —
a bond of men & peoples in
justice & Righteousness. We Confederates against
it, with individual after individual,
as fast we could, till we have cre-
ated the material of a Nationality.
Now we must step upon
& without ceasing to be Friends
& Brothers, the Circumstances compel
us to be Kings.

It seems as if this

as to plain that Wendell
must see it: & I doubt not
if I could see him long enough
to talk with him I should find
it so; & that his entire indif-
ference to Nationality was
merely the reformer's long
habit of fence against
despotism by the sword arm
of individuality. But we must
have the whole armour
— the great Shield behind which
little Fences can be safe with
Ajax Telamon. Of this Shield,—
the enlarged fraternity that
can cooperate in vast bodies
for the good of all with injury
to none, the U.S. idea is getting
possession. With this faith &
this formula, we can dall wh

* I need not say that the change is our in it: but in the nation. 2

A Great Popular Movement.

~~XXXXX~~ — "In the Name of Unbridled Rationality" — as the Gospel now, as was "in the Name of the Most Merciful God" in the days of the Caliphs: & the people are right, while they are at war with the Slave Power, & they are with us & we with them, in political position while the war on its present basis+ continues, & they with us. There is no help for it. It is part of the region of opinion, & a mere matter of fact to-day, whatever it may be to-morrow. It seems to me that what we need in a Memorial is something that shall be good Anti-Slavery work — an entrance into as many hearts by the open door, (without shoving to beat down another) as possible.

+ I speak of actualities, — not technicalities.

So that if the Measure demanded be not adopted, the thoughts, plans, needs, means, in Embryo, may grow to as ~~entire~~ success to the next push in whatever shape it come. But this is hardly possible. The people will have the Measure, as soon as they realize the grounds for having it. The people that are now making themselves felt are a people that you nor I knew had an existence: a people quite out of the region of Caucuses & conventions: — & A. S. lectures. the dangerous class, we should say, of this Country, if it were not for that upper tendom that has so long been mounded by the Slaveholder. These men are blind as their instincts lead: — & our Memorial ought to hinder them from a second Bull's Run. + They

+ However that disaster was a blessing.

just & weak men like Horace Greeley — he wishes weak men like Abraham Lincoln; — & the result of all their blunderings & weaknesses together will be National lack of Strength to carry out Slavery. Future to exist, for. This present Act as stands by, with its foul instincts. — the very same hitherto Misdeeds to our detriment — by the same power & its worthless tools.

While we were showing the true principles of Nationality, we were at the Mercy of the Slave power: as a Man taking another from drowning is in peril of the half unconscious grasp & the dash of waves. But we've changed all that. Now that the literal Constitution is seen in reality to where stood we have proclaimed it, and every stump but a proclamation of freedom under the war-power &

A consignment of any other,
is Philosophical, let us ask
for the only reconstruction on
Christian thing. The fear in
their body, mind is, both high
& low, lest in taking the
Slaves out of the great Slaveholders
hands we should leave them
loose (!) have them to take care
of (!) & should'nt know how (!)
If we should start a memorial
with this germ of a plan &
a habit of instruction:— a way of meeting
of opposition by epigram, that
would not take up time, we should
get millions by cents & dollars.

I know so far just that correspondence with this so called leading circus a non-thing
word, that I have
been urging you & the rest
of the friends to raise

tion: Which would be the
method to begin with — &
finally let it break into
Public meeting & advocacy.
When a man can rise &
say — "this is going like wild-
fire — we shall not come
to use unwilling action. —
We are simply helping on
a natural movement. — Abol-
tionists don't wish to be seen
laying corner-stones, — there
already two millions of names, —
&c —" he can get 4.000.000
more, & so on the case of
momentum increasing. Just
so is where most human
undertakings that fail do fail.

It is what we lack. It is what the old Ex Com had more of than we. But they were "no great Shakes."

Our method is routine. & oftentimes we just simply by not changing our left from our right hand.

It is not in the heart of our people, the Millions, to pay the Stakeholder for the broken pokers. They will not sign a Memorial that Squints that way. That is a Government's notion of getting out of a Scrape easily — but

the people that raise armies & subsidies will say, — "We don't want the Masters to starve, nor the slaves to go loose & come up here like locusts; — we're willing to pay, to keep 'em there, where they're wanted, just about as much as the war cost us." but as to making 'em good for keepin' up their credit's - barracks & their cubys & so on, & all their imperial Kalkylations for the year 2000, we ain't a-gonter!" And again — "We're willin' to pay ourselves that 'll keep 'em straight without flogging 'em, or ironing 'em up or selling 'em 'em by the pound, as that dis-

Southern fellow says: — and
'twill take a plaguy many to
overlook 'em. A Government
might make an offer of
it, & then we should stand a
chance to get back some of our
money." (These people always
think the Banks millions
are theirs. So they are, for this
purpose, when ever the people
demand them.)
Another thing the popular
instinct says: We pay them
Marylanders for their loyalty!
We won't do it. We see only
a few politicians, a lot of rotten
Secessionists, & disaffection
the mass of the people, by
proposing such a thing

And the Statesmen will do it, without asking. If they find a copper Bridge the only one possible at last.

This is not to be Mistaken for an article, dear Mr. Garrison even if you have taken the trouble to read it — which so busy as you are is more than I could hope: but I am unable to see you for talk, — & with our friends all present at the Board. When I think to say a word I find that, besides the want of time, there are a Great Many Love Feasts, — consequences of foregone conclusions that

I know nothing about, & dont wish to know any thing about.

I have got a $100. bill, since I saw you last, that I can pay Moncure Conways Expenses with, if it is thought best. — (It is given at my discretion) & I am writing to Summer to know what sort of a Memorial He thinks, well of, & what practical Shape he thinks of giving to Conways tour; & can I see a Copy

of Conway's book &c.
I always help him &
he me when we can.
It will not be the beginning of a correspondence.

The main point of this letter is, will you kindly send me by next mail a copy of your Memorial? It is a real need for me to have it, as a cooperative measure. It is a most admirable one. It is in every sense of the case the

Most admirable one? In
Excellence & dignity of expression
& perfection of Good feeling
& right principles certainly
it is: but I do not think
it would be numerously
signed. Something not half so
good yet no less uncompromising
would get many more
signers. That however, is not
of so much consequence. It may
be said in respect as that
Something should be presented,
Something that the American
A.S. Soc, compound as it is, of
Men who have lived their lives
in one mode of attack & defence,
could see & adopt without argument.
Any way that all agree is
with me — your way best of
all, in Society — action
Your attached friend L.W. Chapman